

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-12 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 SS-15

NSC-10 DODE-00 ACDA-19 IO-13 FILE-01 SSO-00 CCO-00

ADP-00 EB-11 COME-00 OMB-01 RSR-01 /148 W

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P R 141948 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7137

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

USDOCOSOUTH

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 COPENHAGEN 1337

SECTO 43

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP NATO

SUBJECT: SECRETARY ROGERS' ADDRESS TO NAC, THURSDAY,
JUNE 14

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF ADDRESS AS GIVEN:

BEGIN TEXT:

MR ROGERS

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MR. CHAIRMAN, FIRST, I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CONGRATULATE THE GOVERNMENT OF DENMARK FOR THE VERY SPECIAL AND IMPRESSIVE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH YOU MADE FOR THIS MEETING, AND ALSO FOR THE STRONG SUPPORT THAT YOUR PRIME MINISTER GAVE TO THE ALLIANCE THIS MORNING IN OPENING THE MEETING. I ALSO WANT TO COMPLIMENT MY COLLEAGUE FROM CANADA ON HIS VERY IMPRESSIVE STATEMENT. IT SHOWS THAT HE HAS BECOME A SENIOR STATEMAN* BUT I AM SERIOUS, R. MINISTER, WHEN I COMPLIMENT YOU AND SAY THAT, IN ALMOST EVERY PARTICULAR, WE AGREE WITH THE SENTIMENTS THAT YOU EXPRESSED.

MR. CHAIRMAN, THIS MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS IS PARTICULARLY OPPORTUNE FOR TWO REASONS. FIRST, WE ARE EMBARKED UPON A PERIOD OF INTENSIVE EFFORTS TO RENEW AND STRENGTHEN THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP. NOTHING IS MORE IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES THAN TO MAINTAIN OUR ATLANTIC TIES, AND I AGREE WITH MR. SHARP WHEN HE SAYS THAT CANADA'S INTEREST IN THE FIRST INSTANCE IS SELF- INTEREST. THAT IS TRUE OF THE UNITED STATES. WE CONSIDER THIS ALLIANCE IMPORTANT TO OUR SECURITY - AND ALSO, OF COURSE, TO EUROPEAN SECURITY, BUT THERE CAN BE NO DENYING THAT OUR PRIMARY INTEREST IS SELF- INTEREST AND WHEN WE HAVE MEETINGS WITH OUR CONGRESS WE MAKE THAT FACT CLEARLY KNOWN. AS YOU KNOW, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS BEEN MEETING WITH A NUMBER OF LEADERS FROM NATO COUNTRIES AND THIS FALL HE WILL BE COMING TO EUROPE. SO IT IS OPPORTUNE FOR THAT REASON THAT WE ARE ENGAGED IN INTENSIVE EFFORTS TO RENEW AND STRENGTHEN THE ALLIANCE, AND WHEN I SAY " WE" I MEAN ALL OF US.

SECONDLY, WE ARE ALSO EMBARKING UPON AN UNPRECEDENTED PERIOD OF NEGOTIATIONS IN EAST- WEST RELATIONSHIPS. THIS MEETING WILL ALLOW US TO CO- ORDINATE OUR APPROACH TO NEXT MONTH'S CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO- OPERATION IN EUROPE AND TO THE TALKS ON MBFR, WHICH OUGHT TO BEGIN NOT LATER THAN OCTOBER 30 TH.

ACTIVE BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ARE ALSO BEING HELD BY MANY NATIONS, CHANCELLOR BRANDT MET LAST MONTH WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV. PRESIDENT NIXON WILL BE MEETING NEXT WEEK WITH MR. BREZHNEV. THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TO DISCUSS WITH YOU TODAY OUR APPROACH TO THESE TALKS AND TO LISTEN CAREFULLY TO YOUR THOUGHTS SO THAT WE MAY TAKE YOUR VIEWS FULLY INTO ACCOUNT.

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WE EXPECT THAT THE TALKS IN WASHINGTON WILL NOT HAVE THE DRAMATIC GROUND- BREAKING CHARACTER OF THE MOSCOW SUMMIT, BUT WE EXPECT THEM TO BE SIGNIFICANT. ALTHOUGH THE SUBSTANCE OF
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NSC-10 DODE-00 ACDA-19 IO-13 FILE-01 SSO-00 CCO-00

ADP-00 EB-11 COME-00 OMB-01 RSR-01 /148 W

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P R 141948 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7138

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

USDOCOSOUTH

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 COPENHAGEN 1337

WE OURSELVES DESIRE TO MOVE OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS FORWARD. HOWEVER, AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED CONGRESSIONAL PROBLEMS ON MFN BECAUSE OF THE SOVIET EMIGRATION POLICIES. WITH REGARD TO LONG- TERM DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN ENERGY AND RAW MATERIAL RESOURCES, WE HOLD TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT SUCH PROJECTS MUST MEET THE TEST OF ECONOMIC FEASIBILITY AND MUTUAL ADVANTAGE.

WE WILL REVIEW WITH THE SOVIET SIDE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TWELVE BASIC PRINCIPLES AGREED TO AT THE MOSCOW SUMMIT. WE ATTACH PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO THE COMMITMENT TO AVOID MILITARY CONFRONTATIONS, TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN OUR MUTUAL RELATIONS AND NOT TO SEEK UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER. WE BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE SUBSTANTIALLY ADHERED TO THESE BASIC PRINCIPLES SINCE THEIR SIGNATURE. AT THE SAME TIME, PRESI-
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DENT NIXON WILL BE SEEKING IN THESE TALKS TO BROADEN AND DEEPEN THE SOVIET COMMITMENT TO POLICIES REFLECTED IN THESE PRINCIPLES.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDOCHINA, WE BELIEVE THAT THE

SOVIETS HAVE A PARALLEL INTEREST IN AVOIDING RESUMPTION OF MILITARY HOSTILITIES, CERTAINLY FULL- SCALE HOSTILITIES.

WE WILL SEEK SOVIET CO- OPERATION IN MAINTAINING THE CEASE FIRE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND WILL TRY TO IMPRESS UPON MOSCOW THE NEED TO WEIGH IN HEAVILY IN FAVOUR OF EGYPTIAN RESTRAINT. AT THE SAME TIME, WE WILL CONTINUE TO OPPOSE THE IDEA THAT A SETTLEMENT CAN BE DESIGNED AND IMPOSED BY OUTSIDERS AND WILL STRESS OUR VIEW THAT ONLY ARAB- ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS, DIRECT OR INDIRECT, CAN LEAD TO PROGRESS TOWARDS A LASTING PEACE. WE WILL POINT OUT THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION OUTSIDE POWERS SUCH AS THE US AND THE USSR CAN MAKE AT THIS TIME IS TO ENCOURAGE A GENUINE NEGOTIATING PROCESS BETWEEN THE PARTIES.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT POINT. I THINK THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL HAVE HEARD IT BEFORE, BUT I WANT TO EMPHASIZE IT BECAUSE OF ITS TIMELINESS. WE ARE CONVINCED IN THE UNITED STATES THAT THE ONLY POSSIBILITY OF PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO TAKE PLACE. AND WHEN WE SAY " NEGOTIATIONS" WE DO NOT NECESSARILY MEAN DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS, BUT NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WILL INVOLVE ACTIVE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS. THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT SINCE 1967, THERE HAS BEEN NO ACTIVE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS AMONG THE NATIONS CONCERNED. EXPERIENCE IN RECENT YEARS HAS TAUGHT US THAT THAT IS THE BEST WAY TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS AND WE ARE CONVINCED THAT IF SUCH NEGOTIATIONS COULD BEGIN UNDER SOME AUSPICES GENUINE PROGRESS COULD BE MADE.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SAY A WORD TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL ABOUT THAT AREA OF THE WORLD IN SO FAR AS THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED. OUR RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB COUNTRIES ON THE WHOLE HAVE CONTINUED TO IMPROVE. WE NOW HAVE, AS YOU KNOW - I WAS INTERESTED IN THE BRIEFING THIS MORNING - DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC - AND VERY GOOD RELATIONS. WE HAVE VERY GOOD RELATIONS WITH SAUDI ARABIA AND WE RECENTLY MADE A DECISION TO SELL PHANTOMS TO THAT COUNTRY. I THINK CONDITIONS, AND SIR ALEC MAY ADDRESS THIS, IN OMAN HAVE IMPROVED AND WE HAVE GOOD REALTIONS WITH THE SUDAN. WE HAVE RECENTLY COMPLETED
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A COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT WITH ALGERIA AND OUR RELATIONS WITH JORDAN AND LEBANON ARE GOOD.

SO, GENERALLY SPEAKING, ASIDE FROM THE FACT THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO PROGRESS IN THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM, I THINK THE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE NOT BEEN DISCOURAGING. THE CEASE- FIRE CONTINUES IN PLACE AND WE DO NOT THINK OURSELVES THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL FAIL TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT AND FAIL TO URGE EGYPT TO RESTRAIN. ALSO WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PERSIAN GULF AREA AND SIR ALEC AND I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM A MEETING OF CENTO AND I THINK IT WAS A VERY SUCCESSFUL MEETING AND THERE SEEMS TO BE A GROWING SENSE OF REGIONAL CO- OPERATION WHICH

PROVIDES STABILITY, I BELIEVE, IN THE AREA.

THE SITUATION, OF COURSE, IN INDOCHINA CONTINUES TO BE OF CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES. PRESIDENT NIXON REMAINS DETERMINED TO DO EVERYTHING WITHIN REASON TO DEVELOP A STRUCTURE OF PEACE IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD. TO THIS END WE AGAIN UNDERTOOK NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS TO SEEK FULLER COMPLIANCE WITH THE BASIC AGREEMENT OF 27 TH JANUARY WHICH WE BELIEVE OFFERS A VIABLE FRAMEWORK FOR PEACE IF RESPECTED. THESE NEGOTIATIONS CULMINATED, AS YOU KNOW, IN A JOINT COMMUNIQUE WHICH WAS SIGNED IN PARIS YESTERDAY. THIS COMMUNIQUE IS AN IMPLIFICATIO AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE ORIGINAL AGREEMENT. IT PROVIDES FOR IMPLEMENTATION
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NSC-10 DODE-00 ACDA-19 IO-13 FILE-01 SSO-00 CCO-00

ADP-00 EB-11 COME-00 OMB-01 RSR-01 /148 W
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P R 141948 Z JUN 73
FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7139
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION USUN
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
USLOACLANT
USDOCOSOUTH
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 COPENHAGEN 1337

I THINK WE ARE ALL AGREED THAT THE MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS SHOULD BE BRIEF - IDEALLY NO LONGER THAN A WEEK - AND THAT IT IS NOT THE APPROPRIATE FORUM TO CARRY OUT ANY EXTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON POINTS OF SUBSTANCE. WE ALSO AGREE VERY MUCH WITH CANADA THAT WE SHOULD NOT FIX ANY ARTIFICIAL TIMETABLES. WHEN WE AGREED TO ENTER THESE TALKS WE AGREED ON THE BAIS THAT WE WANTED CONCRETE RESULTS AND THAT WE WOULD INSIST ON THEM, AND ANY ARTIFICIAL TIMETABLE WOULD MAKE IT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO

ACHIEVE SUCH RESULTS.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE INITIAL CSCE MEETING OF MINISTERS WOULD NOT BE THE APPROPRIATE OCCASION TO DISCUSS DRAFTS OF ANY FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS WHICH MIGHT BE TABLED BY THE EAST OR TO SEEK AGREEMENT ON THE LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION IN THE FINAL STAGE OF THE
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FURTHER, WE BELIEVE THAT ANY DOCUMENT ISSUED AT THE END OF THE INITIAL MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE CSCE SHOULD BE STRAIGHT-FORWARD IN STYLE AND UNPRETENTIOUS IN CONTENT. THIS MIGHT BEST

TAKE THE FORM OF A PRESS STATEMENT. ITS TEXT SHOULD BE THE SUBJECT OF CLOSE ALLIED CONSULTATIONS. WE HAVE ALSO MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS TOWARDS TALKS ON MBFR. OUR NEGOTIATORS IN VIENNA HAVE DONE IMPORTANT AND EFFECTIVE WORK, DESPITE THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN DEALING WITH THE STATUS OF HUNGARY AND THE PROBLEM OF A DATE FOR OPENING NEGOTIATIONS. THESE EXPLORATORY TALKS PROVE THAT THE ALLIANCE CAN SUCCESSFULLY PREPARE FOR NEGOTIATION ON CENTRAL ISSUES OF MILITARY SECURITY IN A COHESIVE AND CO-OPERATIVE MANNER.

TO DEVELOP AN MBFR APPROACH WHICH ALL ALLIES CAN FULLY SUPPORT, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE DISCUSS TOGETHER THE MAJOR ISSUES IDENTIFIED IN THE GUIDELINES PAPER. SUCH ISSUES AS WE CAN RESOLVE THROUGH OUR DISCUSSIONS SHOULD BE REFLECTED IN AN APPROPRIATE REVISION OF THESE GUIDELINES. FOR THOSE ISSUES WHICH REMAIN THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT ALLIES HOLDING VARIOUS VIEWS SHOULD SOON PUT THEM FORWARD IN CONCRETE PROPOSALS WHICH THE COUNCIL COULD ADDRESS. THIS WILL ENABLE US TO AVOID FOCUSING ON ABSTRACT FORMULAS AND ALLOW US TO SEEK EARLY AGREEMENT ON THE SPECIFICS OF OUR APPROACH TO MBFR.

I BELIEVE THAT TWO SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES ARE CENTRAL IN THIS ENDEAVOUR. THE FIRST AND MOST IMPORTANT CONCERNS THE FORCES TO BE REDUCED. WE HAVE EXPRESSED OUR VIEW THAT MBFR INITIALLY SHOULD FOCUS ON STATIONED FORCES, AND THAT INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS, IF ANY, SHOULD COME IN A SUBSEQUENT PHASE. WE HAVE TAKEN THIS POSITION BECAUSE OF THE SUBSTANTIAL QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE SUPERIORITY OF NATO INDIGENOUS FORCES OVER THOSE OF THE WARSAW PACT. WE BELIEVE OUR INITIAL GOAL, AT LEAST, SHOULD BE A REDUCTION OF SOVIET GROUND FORCES AND THAT, TO ACCOMPLISH THIS GOAL, US FORCES WILL ALSO NEED TO BE REDUCED.

WE HAVE NOTED WITH INTEREST THE FACT THAT NEARLY ALL ALLIES FAVOUR THE REDUCTION OF US AND SOVIET FORCES AS AN INITIAL PHASE AND THAT MOST BELIEVE THE POSSIBILITY OF MIXED PACKAGE
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TRADES SHOULD BE HELD OPEN. WE WILL TAKE THESE VIEWS INTO ACCOUNT IN DEVELOPING OUR OWN PREFERENCES. BUT WE ARE FIRMLY OF THE VIEW THAT THE QUESTION OF WHICH FORCES ARE TO BE REDUCED MUST BE RESOLVED WITHIN THE ALLIANCE IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

THE SECOND ISSUE CONCERNS NON- CIRCUMVENTION AND CONSTRAINTS. WE HAVE STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE COMMON RESOLVE THAT THE SOVIETS MUST NOT BE PERMITTED TO CIRCUMVENT AN MBFR AGREEMENT BY BUILDING UP THEIR FORCES IN HUNGARY. WE HAVE ALSO TAKEN THE VIEW THAT CONSTRAINTS ARE AN IMPORTANT PART OF MBFR AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO REDUCTIONS UNLESS THERE IS AGREEMENT ON CONSTRAINTS IN HUNGARY. HOWEVER, INCLUDING HUNGARY IN A CONSTRAINTS AGREEMENT IS NOT THE ONLY MEANS OF PREVENTING CIRCUMVENTION. WE FIRMLY BELIEVE MOREOVER THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD WE CONSIDER ANY MEASURES WHICH COULD AFFECT DEPLOYMENTS OUTSIDE CENTRAL EUROPE.

TURNING TO ANOTHER MATTER OF SIGNIFICANCE, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON MBFR TO BEGIN ON OR BEFORE OCTOBER 30 TH. WE HAVE INFORMED THE SOVIETS THAT WE HAVE LIVED UP TO THE TIMETABLE FOR MBFR AND CSCE PREPARATIONS, AND THAT WE WOULD BE WILLING TO SEE THE FIRST STAGE OF CSCE BEGIN ON SCHEDULE EARLY IN JULY. BUT WE HAVE ALSO TOLD THE
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NSC-10 DODE-00 ACDA-19 IO-13 FILE-01 SSO-00 CCO-00

ADP-00 EB-11 COME-00 OMB-01 RSR-01 /148 W
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P R 141948 Z JUN 73
FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7140
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION NATO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 4 COPENHAGEN 1337

THE PROPOSALS WE HAVE MADE FOR FURTHER FORCE IMPROVEMENTS WILL HELP MITIGATE PRESSURES FOR UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS AND WOULD BUTTRESS OUR POSITION IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST. AS THE PRESIDENT REAFFIRMED IN HIS FOREIGN POLICY REPORT OF MAY 3 RD, " GIVEN SIMILAR EFFORTS BY OUR ALLIES, THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT ONLY MAINTAIN BUT IMPROVE OUR FORCES IN EUROPE AND WILL NOT REDUCE THEM UNLESS THERE IS RECIPROCAL ACTION BY OUR ADVERSARIES ".

WHILE WE FULLY INTEND TO DISCHARGE OUR COMMITMENTS TO THE COMMON DEFENCE, THESE COMMITMENTS CONFRONT US WITH A VERY SERIOUS BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEM. THE ALLIANCE HAS RECOGNIZED THE DESIRABILITY OF ALLEVIATING " BURDENS ARISING FROM BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICITS RESULTING FROM MILITARY EXPENDITURES FOR
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COMMON DEFENCE". WE WELCOME THE WILLINGNESS OF THE ALLIANCE TO EXAMINE THE PROBLEM AND TO ESTABLISH A BROADER BASE FOR ITS SOLUTION.

I WOULD LIKE TO RAISE ONE OTHER DEFENCE- RELATED ISSUE. THE UNITED STATES ACCEPTED WITH REGRET THE VERDICT ON THE RECENT PROPOSAL FOR A PORT CALL IN SPAIN BY UNITS OF NATO'S NAVAL ON- CALL FORCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT NATO SHOULD IMPROVE ITS DEFENCE CAPABILITY THROUGH CO- OPERATION WITH SPAIN.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LET ME CONCLUDE BY DISCUSSING BRIEFLY AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY FACING US AS ALLIES. PRESIDENT NIXON CHOSE HIS FIRST TRIP ABROAD AS PRISIDENT TO AFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. ADDRESSING THE NATO COUNCIL IN 1969, PRESIDENT NIXON STATED " I BELIEVE WE MUST BUILD AN ALLIANCE STRONG ENOUGH TO DETER THOSE WHO MIGHT THREATEN WAR, REALISTIC ENOUGH TO DEAL WITH WORLD AS IT IS AND FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO EXPLORE NEW CHANNELS OF CONSTRUCTIVE CO- OPERATION". THAT IS TILL HIS STRONG VIEW. SINCE THAT TIME, FOR REASONS THAT ARE WELL KNOWN, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN ENGAGED IN OTHER ACTIVITIES IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. BUT THAT FACT HAS NOT CHANGED OUR POSITION. THAT IS WHY THE PRESIDENT, MR. CHAIRMAN, HAS REFERRED IN HIS STATEMENTS TO A " YEAR OF EUROPE". HE WANTS TO MAKE CLEAR ONCE AGAIN HIS FUNDAMENTAL POLICY ABOUT THE ALLIANCE.

THE STRENGTH OF THS ALLIANCE HAS ALLOWED TO MAKE REMARKABLE
PROGRESS TOWARD A MORE STABLE AND PEACEFUL WORLD. THERE CAN BE NO
DOUBT ABOUT IT THAT IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION HAVE
COME ABOUT BECAUSE OF THE STRENGTH
OF THE ALLIANCE. AND I MIGHT SAY PARENTHETICALLY THAT OUR RELAT-
IONS WITH THE PRC HAVE BEEN HELPED BECAUSE OF THE ALLIANCE.

TODAY WITH THE TRANSFORMATION OF US RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW
AND PEKING, AND THE VIETNAM WAR COMING TO AN END, WE WILL DEVOTE
MUCH GREATER ATTENTION TO THE NEEDS OF THE ALLIANCE ITSELF.
IT IS CLEAR TO ALL OF US THAT THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS ENTERING
A NEW ERA AND THAT 1973 IS A YEAR OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO THE
FUTURE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP.

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 JUN 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973COPENH01337
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: COPENHAGEN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730619/aaaajatj.tel
Line Count: 458
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 9
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 24 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24-Aug-2001 by elyme>; APPROVED <19-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> jms 980206
Subject: SECRETARY ROGERS' ADDRESS TO NAC, THURSDAY, JUNE 14
TAGS: OVIP, NATO
To: ANKARA
ATHENS
EC BRUSSELS
EUR
NATO
SECSTATE WASHDC
USCINCEUR

USNMR SHAPE

USUN

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005